

[And say: My Lord! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'an]

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# THE ARAB ADMINISTRATION OF SIND

#### INTRODUCTION

Lying as it does in close geographical proximity to the sea-coast of South-East Arabia, Sind had contacts with Arabs, both economical and social, long before Islam. But the Islamicised Arabs had mentally very little in common with their pre-Islamic selves.

The penetration of Islamicised Arabs in, and their attacks on the sea-coast towns of Sind had begun as early as the year 15 H., in the time of the Caliph 'Umar the Great. Al-Balādhury has given considerable details of the action taken by the Muslim State under 'Umar, 'Uthmān, 'Aliy, Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd, before the final and complete occupation by Muḥammad ibn Qāsim; but very little has so far been written on the administrative work of these new masters of the country.

Although it is true that there was considerable difference between the precept and the practice of the Arabs, yet it can safely be said that they compare favourably with any other nation of the world within half a century of its civilisation. The Arabic State under the Umaiyads was essentially Islamic. Notwithstanding the fact that the uppermost strata of society indulged themselves in a way prohibited by Islam,—though quite normal for other secularised societies—it was Muslim law which reigned supreme throughout their empire. The historian asks curiously, how it was possible that the Arab invaders, never superior in physique or military machines or economic resources to the races which they subjugated, managed to achieve an expansion unrivalled not only for its rapidity but also in its cultural effects. Not only the religion but even the mother-tongue of the conquered countries was changed into that of the Arab rulers.

Much has been written in recent times on the principles and practices of Islamic administration in the time of the Prophet and the Orthodox Caliphs. But the Umaiyad period has suffered from the fact that for information about it we have to depend on the work of historians of the rival 'Abbāsid dynasty which followed.

We publish the following article in the hope that it will lead other workers in the field to collect data from the various sources, and to consult and utilise the original Arabic works on the subject most of which are now fortunately available in print. Reference may also be made to the Mappæ Arabicæ, which contain about half a dozen maps of Sind also by early Arab geographers. They give physical as well as administrative and topographical details of the country. To these must be added the maps contained in the geographical work of Abū-Zaid al-Balkhī (MSS. of which are in Madīnah and Istanbūl, and photographed copies of the latter in Cairo).—ED., I.C.

## ADMINISTRATIVE HANDICAPS

THE men who were sent to accomplish the conquest of Sind were great warriors no doubt, but they possessed little experience in the art of administration. Besides this, they had some other short-

<sup>1.</sup> Sind is no exception. It is said that not long ago Arabic was the polite language of Sind among non-Muslims also.

comings also: they had no knowledge of local conditions, had no means of assessing the resources of the country which conquest placed at their disposal, and had no men capable of exercising civil functions. They could not fathom the depths of the chaotic accounts kept by the native financiers and had inevitably to depend upon the native genius.¹ With all these shortcomings, however, they brought with them those ennobling ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity which were introduced by Islām long before the French Revolution. They strictly adhered to the supreme law of toleration and dealt even-handed justice, and hence they were successful in governing the country which they had conquered.

#### **TOLERATION**

Toleration in the true sense of the word was granted by the Arab governors of Sind to their subjects. Some temples were no doubt destroyed during the days of war, but that was a temporary phase, for the destruction of temples was due not to religious bigotry or fanaticism but to the fact that the temples were repositories of India's agelong accumulated wealth, and fortified places on whose fall depended the surrender of the place attacked and the fate of its people.<sup>2</sup> Once a place was conquered and peace restored or the people submitted and sought peace, the conqueror adopted a kind and conciliatory attitude towards them.<sup>3</sup> After the conquest of Brahmanābād, for instance, its inhabitants were allowed to rebuild their temples and to perform their ceremonies in the manner prescribed by their religion.<sup>4</sup> When 'Imād-ud-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Qāsim forwarded the request of the inhabitants of Brahmanābād regarding the reconstruction of the temple of Budh to Ḥajjāj, he received the following reply:

"It appears that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanābād have petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Budh and pursue their religion. As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalīfa, nothing more can be required from them. They have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives and property. Permission is given to them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his own religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like."

<sup>1.</sup> E. & D., I, 460-461.

<sup>2.</sup> See Futüh-ul-Buldan in E. & D., I, 120.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., 121-24.

<sup>4.</sup> Chach Nāmah in E. & D., I, 182 ff., 190, 192 and 196. Ḥajjāj, the Viceroy of 'Irāq, was a veritable tyrant, whose reign is rendered notorious by his acts of intolerance and cruelty, but curiously enough his policy towards Sind was very conciliatory. It seems to me that the tolerance enjoyed by the Sindians was due more to the character of Muhammad ibn Qāsim than to anything else.

<sup>5.</sup> Chach Nāmah in E .& D., 185-86.

On receipt of these orders from Ḥajjāj, Muhammad ibn Qāsim permitted the people of Brahmanābād to rebuild their temples, to traffic with the Muslims, to live without fear, and to try to improve themselves.¹ Under his orders the Brahmans were treated with marked kindness and consideration. They were allowed 3 per cent. of the dirhams to which they were entitled from the laity for whom they officiated. The Hindūs were allowed to retain their position like the Jews, the Christians, and the fire-worshippers, and it was proclaimed "that their temples would be inviolate like the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the altars of the Magians."² This toleration stands in marked contrast to that enjoyed by the natives under their own Rājās.³

## LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

The Arabs did not disturb the existing system of administration in Sind. They placed the entire machinery of internal administration in the hands of the natives and warned them to be scrupulously fair and honest in their work. After the conquest of Brahmanābād, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim admonished every man separately and said:—

"Be happy in every respect, and have no anxiety, for you will not be blamed for anything. I do not take any agreement or bond from you. Whatever sum is fixed and we have settled you must pay. Moreover, care and leniency shall be shown to you. And whatever may be your requests, they should be represented to me so that they may be heard, a proper reply be given, and the wishes of each man be satisfied." <sup>5</sup>

The author of the Chāch Nāmah informs us that after confirming the superiority of the Brahmans and restoring the concessions enjoyed by them under the previous regimes, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim ordered all of them to appear before him. When they complied, he reminded them that they had filled great offices in the time of Dāhir and that they must be thoroughly familiar with the city of Brahmanābād and its suburbs. Reposing full confidence in them, he entrusted them with high offices and

<sup>1.</sup> See Chach Namah in E. & D., I, 86.

<sup>2.</sup> Futūḥ-ul-Buldān in E. &.D., I, 122; and Chach Nāmah in E. & D., I, 151, 186-87.

<sup>3.</sup> Vide infra. Also see Chāch Nāmah in E. & D., I, 187.

<sup>4.</sup> Chach Nāmah in E. & D., I, 183. Also see E. & D., I, 460. In his note (vide Appendix in E.& D., I, 469) Dowson argues that the toleration granted by the Arab rulers of Sind emanated not from good-will but from necessity, or in his own words: "It was dictated less by any principle of justice or humanity than the impossibility of suppressing the native religion by the small number of Arab invaders." I have only to observe that his remarks are equally applicable to any government that grants toleration to subjects of different faith. Yet he himself admits that "the toleration which the native Sindians enjoyed in the practice of their religion was greater than what was usually conceded in other countries." (Ibid.)

<sup>5.</sup> Chach Nāma in E. & D., I, 184-85.

placed all the important affairs of the place in their hands.<sup>1</sup> It was also proclaimed that every capable person should be brought to his notice so that his talent might also be unearthed.<sup>2</sup> Important officers were assigned seats in public assemblies and some of them were also given saddled horses and ornaments for hands and feet, according to the custom of the country. Overseers and assistants were appointed, and all matters relating to property were entrusted to four of the merchants whose duty it was to inform the governor of all matters and to decide nothing without consulting him. Steps were taken to improve and encourage agriculture and trade. Artisans and merchants were free from molestation and whosoever took pains in his work was encouraged and supported.<sup>3</sup>

### HOME GOVERNMENT

The Arab governor of Sind, whose appointment and dismissal rested with the <u>Kh</u>alīfa, was responsible to the authorities at the <u>Dār-us-Salām</u>, or the capital. All important matters relating to foreign affairs and administrative policy were therefore referred to them, and the orders and instructions received from them were strictly enforced and carried out. Though the internal administration of Sind was not disturbed and all administrative offices were entrusted to the Brahmans, necessary steps were taken by the governor to guard against a possible reaction or a revolution. Such big cities as Sahwistān, Alor, and Brahmanābād, and such important strongholds as Debal, Nirūn, and Rāwar were therefore placed in charge of Arab officers of tried merit and proved honesty.<sup>4</sup>

# SUMPTUARY LAWS

THE Arab governors did not touch the time-honoured indigenous institutions, good or bad. The sumptuary laws introduced by Mannū were strictly enforced by the pre-Arab rulers of Sind, and certain tribes were forbidden to wear fine linen, ride horses, or cover their heads and feet.<sup>5</sup> Referring to the Chandelas, Mannū says: "That they should be made to live outside the towns, that their sole wealth must be dogs and asses, their clothes must consist of cere-cloths of the dead, their dishes broken pots and their ornaments of rusty iron." During his stay

<sup>1.</sup> Chāch Nāmah in E. & D., I, 183.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., I, 189.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., I, 190.

<sup>4.</sup> Futuh-ul-Buldan and Chach Namah in E.& D., I, 120, 121, 160, 163, 189, 202, 204 and 207.

E, & D., I, 476.

<sup>6.</sup> Institutes, X, 12, 29-30.

at Brahmanābād, Chāch treated the Jāts¹ and the Lohanas as Chandelas and imposed the following disabilities on them: "That they should never wear any swords but sham ones: that they should never wear undergarments of shawls, velvet, or silk, but they might wear their outer garments of silk, provided they were of red or black colour:² that they should put no saddles on their horses, and should keep their heads and feet uncovered: that when they went out they should take their dogs with them;³ that they should carry firewood for the kitchen of the chief of Brahmanābād. They were to furnish guides and spies and were to be faithful when employed in such offices."⁴ Following the policy and practice of his predecessors in office, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim also treated the Jāts in the same way and ordered them to furnish guides to Muslims. He also ordered the natives to feed every Muslim traveller who happened to be in their town or village, for three days and nights if he was ill and for one day and one night if he was well.<sup>5</sup>

#### MILITARY SYSTEM

The military system of the Arabs, which was introduced into Sind, was at first restricted to Muslims only, but later the restrictions placed on outsiders were relaxed and the Khalīfas freely recruited their ranks from extraneous sources as well. Muḥammad ibn Qāsim took the natives into his army and rewarded their services. Kaksa, the minister of Dāhir, was not only confirmed in his office and taken into confidence, but was allowed 'to take precedence in the army before all the nobles and commanders." He assisted Muḥammad ibn Qāsim in all his undertakings

<sup>1.</sup> The Jāts are stated to be the oldest inhabitants of Sind, who were reduced to the state of serfdom by the Aryans and other conquerors. Burton gives them a very bad character. (Vide Sind or the Unhappy Vallev, II, 118). Crooke says that not very long ago the Rājputs in the Panjāb meted out exactly the same treatment to the Jāts. He says: "They would not allow the Jāts to put a crown (Mor) on the head of their bridegrooms or a jewel (Nath) in the women's noses. They also used to levy seignorial rights from virgin brides. Even to this day Rājputs will not allow inferior people to wear red clothes or ample loin-cloths in their villages" (Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces, 1896, III, 23). Referring to the reign of Sidhārāj Jaya Sinha of Gujarāt, Forbes writes: "The Dheds were compelled to wear only untwisted cotton round their heads, and a stag's horn, as a mark, hanging from their waists, so that people might be able to avoid touching them." (Rās Māla, 1924, I, 110 & p. 112, ed. 1856—Ed., I. C.

<sup>2.</sup> This statement is inconsistent with and even contradictory to the general purport of the paragraph reproduced above. The ill-starred people who were prohibited from wearing even undergarments of silk could hardly be permitted to wear outergarments of silk. There is obviously some error or omission in the text. Professor Howdiwala suggests that the error is probably due to a misunderstanding of the word which really signifies some kind of coarse cloth of hair, or wool, but which has been rendered by the translator as 'silk.' (See Studies in Indo-Muslim History, 85-86.).

<sup>3.</sup> This was perhaps to show that they were outcastes.

<sup>4.</sup> Chāch Nāmah in E. & D., I, 151 and 187. These sumptuary laws were not introduced into Sind by the Arabs, but were simply maintained by them as was the case with many other institutions.

<sup>5.</sup> This ordinance was first introduced by caliph 'Umar. (See Chāch Nāmah in E. & D., I, 187-8; 476).

<sup>6.</sup> E. & D., I, 466.

<sup>7.</sup> Chách Nămah in E. & D., I, 203.

and was given the title of Mubārak Mushīr, or "Auspicious Counsellor." Sindian troops were levied and sent to fight the battles of the Arabs in distant lands. Dionysius Talmarensis distinctly mentions in his Syrian Chronicle some Sindian cohorts as forming a portion of the motley army of Alans, Khazars, Medes, Persians, Turks, Arabs, etc., which invaded the Byzantine territory in 150 A.H. (=767 A.D.). Four years later (i.e., in 154 H.) a body of Sindians, said to be slaves, attempted to seize the imperial treasury in Harran. They are believed to have formed part of these foreign levies. The policy of recruiting natives in their armies adopted by the Arabs seems to have worked well; for in the first place, the danger of rebellion was counteracted by the despatch of dangerous elements to distant places; and secondly, these recruits played a prominent part in extending far and wide the territorial limits of their masters. Often the more enterprising spirits among them availed themselves of the opportunities afforded them and carved out good positions for themselves.2

# THE IQȚĀ' SYSTEM

In recognition of their services, the original conquerors of Sind received big tracts of land called Igta'āt or Qatā'i' which, as rewards for public services, were not subject to any taxes except Sadga or alms, defined by law. These assignments of land were made on the express condition of military service, and as long as this condition was fulfilled they never reverted to the fisc. Since, according to the fiscal legislation introduced by Khalif 'Umar, all soldiers were exclusively devoted to the military profession and were not allowed to take up any other work in addition, the lands forming their Iqtā's continued to be cultivated by their former serfs, who were thus promoted to the status of tenants. Those who were not favoured with such grants received stipends from the public revenue or Bait-ul-Māl, to which they contributed nothing in the form of taxes. Four-fifths of the spoils of war formed their share and only one-fifth was reserved for the Khalifa for religious and charitable purposes. "The man who went down to the battle and he who tarried by the stuff received equal shares and the horsemen enjoyed a double portion."3

<sup>1.</sup> E. & D., I, 465.

<sup>2.</sup> Dowson's statement (E. & D., I, 166) that "most of them were very unwilling soldiers, raised by an arbitrary conscription and only reconciled to their fate after long experience of their new profession, and when their distant homes had been forgotten" is entirely unfounded; for, in the first place, as he himself admits, "some of the foreign recruits were, no doubt, obtained by the hopes of ready participation in the spoils which were the invariable concomitant of Arab conquests;" secondly, the tyranny of their native rulers and Brahmans compelled them to seek their fortunes elsewhere; and thirdly, the temptation of high rank and speedy promotions also goaded them to the same end.

<sup>3.</sup> E. & D., I, 461-62.

#### SOURCES OF REVENUE

The principal sources of State revenue under the Arabs were land revenue, customs, and transit duties, <u>Kh</u>ums, Jizya, and Bāj or tribute from dependencies, a brief account of each of which will be appropriate.<sup>1</sup>

#### LAND REVENUE

Brahmans were appointed as revenue collectors throughout the country and specific instructions were issued to them: "Deal honestly," it was enjoined on them, "between the people and the Sultān, and if distribution is required, make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay. Be in concord among yourselves and oppose not each other, so that the country may not be distressed." The land revenue was usually rated at 2/5ths of the produce of wheat and barley if the fields were irrigated by public canals, at 3/10ths if they were watered by wheels or other artificial means of irrigation, and at 1/4th if they were not irrigated at all. It appears that arable land which was left uncultivated had to pay one dirham per jarīb and 1/10th of the probable produce, but the statement on this point is vague. One-third was levied on the produce of dates, grapes, and garden-fruit, and this was realised in cash or kind, as was found convenient.

# KHUMS, CUSTOMS DUTIES, BĀJ AND 'USHRĪ

Khums or 1/5th was levied on the income accruing from mines, fishing, pearls, and other commodities not connected with cultivation. It was collected in cash or in kind. Taxes on trade, manufactures and handicrafts, customs and transit duties were also important sources of revenue. Occasionally such other taxes as Bāj' or Kharāj (tribute) and 'Ushrī (1/10th or tithe) were also levied, but being rare they require no special notice.4

# **JIZYA**

From those who professed Islām and espoused its cause only 1/10th of their wealth and the produce of the land was collected, but those who followed their own faith had to pay from the produce of their manual industry, or from the land, the usual sums according to the established custom of the country and bring it to the government collectors.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1.</sup> Ameer'Ali's Short History of the Saracens, 186-87.

<sup>2.</sup> Chāch Nāmah in E. & D., I, 184.

<sup>3.</sup> E. & D., I, 474.

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid., I, 475.

<sup>5.</sup> Chạch Nămah in E. & D., I, 190-91.

Jizya was collected from the non-Muslims who were under the protection of the Muslim government and exempt from military service, and were hence called <u>Dhimmis</u>, or protected people. It was assessed on the following graduated scale:

A man in affluent circumstances had to pay 48 dirhams annually. A man of moderate means (middle class) had to pay 24 dirhams.

A man of ordinary position had to pay 12 dirhams.

Women, children, and persons unable to work or unemployed, as well as those who served in the army, were outside the scope of its operation.<sup>1</sup>

#### ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION

The Arab governors were, so to say, "farmers-general," who usually bound themselves to remit to the <u>Kh</u>alīfa the sums of money at which the provinces held by them—after allowing for necessary expenses—were assessed in the public register. The revenue remitted varied according to the degree of control exercised by the <u>Kh</u>alīfa and the degree of obedience owed by the governors. It also differed according to the distance of a particular place from the capital. Where the revenues were not fixed, where the disbursements were left to the discretion of the governors, and where the latter themselves were the judges of local conditions, authorised to declare war or make peace, etc., very little was remitted to the capital, on such pleas as local services, punitive wars, and internal disturbances.<sup>2</sup>

## ACTUAL AMOUNT COLLECTED

As to the actual amount of revenue received from Sind, no accurate or even approximately accurate statistics are available. The statements of ibn-Khurradādhbeh, ibn-Khaldūn, and ibn-Hauqal,³ however, afford some useful information, from which a rough estimate may be formed. It can be gathered from them that Sind yielded an income of 11,500,000 dirhams and 150 lbs. of aloe wood per year.⁴ This is merely a rough estimate, for the revenue received every year varied according to the abundance or scarcity of crops. What taxes this amount actually consisted of is not

<sup>1.</sup> Kharāj (tributum soli) and Jizya (tributum capitis) were not new taxes introduced by Muslims. Both of these taxes were in existence in the Roman empire under the same designations, and it is an established fact that the latter was universally in force under the Sassanids in the Persian empire. In introducing these taxes the Muslims followed old precedents. Both these taxes were fixed on a mild and equitable basis. (Ameer 'Ali's Short History of the Saracens, 63). For a discussion on Jizya see my Some Cultural Aspects of Muslim Rule in India.

<sup>2.</sup> E. & D., I, 473.

<sup>3.</sup> Cf. also Qudāma, <u>Kh</u>arāj (MS. Istanbul), fol. 60b-69b, أو عملكة الإسلام و أعمالها و ارتفاعها (Ed., I. C.).

<sup>4.</sup> Ibid., I, 473. Multan must have formed a part of the province of Sind because it does not find a place in the list of other provinces of the Khilafat.

quite clear. Our authorities are at variance on this point. According to ibn-Khurradadhbeh and ibn-Hauqal, it comprised only land-tax, whereas ibn-Khaldun uses the wider term "revenue." In this connection it is essential to note that the two accounts refer to different periods and to different limits which constantly fluctuated; that the boundaries of the provinces frequently changed; and that sometimes the dues were paid in cash and sometimes in kind. Moreover, the change in the purchasing power of money and the absence of a standard measurement, rendering assessment of land survey extremely difficult, have also to be taken into consideration. When due allowance is made for all these factors, it will appear that the sums set down against some of the provinces are so large whether we take the higher or the lower figure or the earlier or the later date—that we are driven to the conclusion that they must have embraced the entire collections of all kinds, and we are constrained to understand Kharāj in its wider sense of tribute rather than in its limited sense of landtax. The assessment on Sind (Multan included) of 11,500,000 dirhams will be considered moderate if it comprised the land-tax and all the other taxes enumerated above.1

## LAW AND JUSTICE

Justice was rigorously administered without fear or favour. Seats of judgment were filled with Qādīs who were well-versed in Islāmic law and jurisprudence. Cases relating to public and political offences were decided according to the code of Islām, irrespective of the parties committing them, and those relating to debts, inheritance, contracts, adultery, and rights of property among the Hindūs were decided according to Hindū law by the Panchāyats or arbitration committees, which worked with wonderful efficiency. Cases between the Hindūs and the Muslims were decided by the Qādīs assisted by Brahmans well-versed in the Hindū law.<sup>2</sup>

## **ENDOWMENTS**

Big tracts of the conquered territory were given away to religious institutions and sacred edifices as endowments for their maintenance. The remnants of some of them have survived and are still to be seen in some parts of modern Sind.<sup>3</sup> This, to a certain extent, accounts for the existence of numerous tombs and ecclesiastical establishments which, under the Tal-

<sup>1.</sup> E. & D., I, 472-73.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., 478.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., I, 461-62.

purs, are said to have absorbed one-third of the entire revenue of the State.<sup>1</sup>

#### PRESERVATION OF NATIVE STATES

The whole of the conquered country was not assigned to the original victors or to the charitable institutions by way of endowments, for if that had been the case no revenue at all would have accrued to the State, since all such grants were exempt from any kind of tax.<sup>2</sup> Many of the native chiefs were confirmed in their possessions and allowed to enjoy their independence undisturbed amidst all the wars of turmoil, on such conditions as continuous allegiance and regular payment of Bāj or tribute.<sup>3</sup>

#### COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY

COMMERCIAL activity, which followed in the wake of the conqueror, was not so pronounced at first as afterwards, when the zeal for lihad had cooled down and active service offered no such inducements of honour and advancement as had stirred up the early Arabs. The spirit of commercial enterprise thus received a fresh impetus. Sind and Multan maintained a regular commercial connection with the rest of the Muslim world. Caravans, carrying merchandise, regularly passed and repassed between them and Khurāsān through Kābul and Bāmiān. They also kept up communication with Zābulistān and Sijistān through Ghaznīn and Qandahār. At the time of Mas'ūdī's visit, Žābulistān was a country marked out for its fortresses and Sijistan was a place remarkable for its fruit gardens.4 This is so far as commercial communication by land was concerned. As regards traffic of merchandise by sea, we come across recurring references in the contemporary accounts and later works. The products of China, Ceylon, 'Uman, and Malabar were despatched through Sind to Turkistan and Khurasan, and thence to Constantinople, by the resumption of a route which had been so much frequented at one time. Arab horses were imported into Sind, and arms and munitions were sent up the mouth of the Indus. The entire coast of Kirman and Makran was dotted with Arab settlements of the Azdis, who were the chief mercantile carriers from Ubulla and 'Uman and who had many relatives in Sind and Multān.5

#### SOCIAL INTERCOURSE

THERE is no reference to any woman accompanying the Arabs who came and conquered Sind. The distance, coupled with the difficulty

<sup>1.</sup> E. & D. I, 462.

<sup>2</sup> But cf. supra Iqtā' system. The Şadaqāt taxes were collected by the State. (Ed., I. C.)

<sup>3.</sup> E. & D., 462. Also see Chāch Nāmah in E. & D., I, 462.

<sup>4.</sup> E. & D., I, 467.

<sup>5.</sup> Ibid., I, 467-68.

of communication and the absence of intermediate Arab colonies, prevented the exodus of Arab women into Sind. Sind, moreover, was invaded for military operations alone, and hence the Arab soldiers, who were allowed conveyance at the rate of one baggage camel for four men for the transport of food, tents, and other necessary equipment, had no means of bringing their families with them. Nor were the hopes of speedy return to their homes held out to them. To them, in fact, return was even more arduous than advance. Thus, when Muhammad ibn Oasim, after passing the Indus, granted permission to such of his soldiers as wished to return. only three came forward to claim their discharge, and of these three, two did so because they had left their families alone and there was none to look after them.2 Naturally, therefore, the soldiers settled down in Sind and sought solace in the arms of native women. They congregated in several military colonies called Junud and Amsar, or armies and cities. The principal seats of these cantonments were Mansūra, Kuzdar, Kandabel, Baida, Mahfuza and Multan. Some of these settlements became. like Basra, Kūfa, and Damascus, important centres of Arab learning, law, grammar, and theology.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1.</sup> E. & D., I, 464.

<sup>2.</sup> Ibid., I, 464.

<sup>3.</sup> Ibid., 464-65.